

## Message Text

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GENEVA FOR CCD & CTB DELS

E.O. 11652:N/A  
TAGS: PARM, IO  
SUBJECT: UNSSOD PREPCOM IV: FINAL MEETING OF PREPCOM,  
FEB 24

1. SUMMARY: FINAL MEETING OF PREPCOM IV HEARD STATEMENTS BY NUMBER OF DELS (INCLUDING US) ON STATE OF PROGRESS ON FINAL DOCUMENTS (PARAS 2-9). IN ADDITION, CHAIRMAN FORMALIZED SEVERAL DECISIONS REGARDING PREPCOM V. (PARAS 10-12) COMPOSITE TEXT OF DOCUMENTS ON DECLARATION, PROGRAM OF ACTION, AND MACHINERY WERE CIRCULATED AS CONFERENCE ROOM PAPER. END SUMMARY

2. IN FINAL MEETING, SEVERAL DELS (INCLUDING FRANCE, FINLAND, GDR, US, INDIA, MEXICO) MADE STATEMENTS  
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ASSESSING RESULTS OF FOURTH SSOD PREPCOM. FRANCE CIRCULATED PAPER (A/AC.187/105) ON ITS PROPOSALS REGARDING MACHINERY. FINLAND AND GDR EXPRESSED OPINION THAT WORK OF PREPCOM WAS PRODUCTIVE, BUT STATES NEED TO COME TO PREPCOM V READY TO NEGOTIATE IN GOOD FAITH ON TEXTS OF FINAL DOCUMENTS -- A THEME PICKED UP BY SEVERAL SPEAKERS IN LATER STATEMENTS.

3. USREP (WEILER) MADE STATEMENT EMPHASIZING NEED FOR GREATER EFFORTS TO ACHIEVE REASONABLE AND REALISTIC

COMPROMISE TO CURRENT DRAFTS OF FINAL DOCUMENTS. HE  
POINTED TO NEED FOR ALL STATES TO CONSIDER IN CAPITALS  
HOW TO ACHIEVE CONSENSUS ON DOCUMENT WHICH NOW FILLED  
WITH BRACKETED LANGUAGE.

HE SAID USDEL HAD MADE DECISION NOT TO SUBMIT TEXTS ON  
DOCUMENTS HOPING THAT THIS WOULD ENABLE USDEL TO CON-  
TRIBUTE IN MORE FLEXIBLE WAY TO PROGRESS OF THE WORK  
SINCE IT WAS CLEAR PROCESS OF CONSOLIDATION WOULD HAVE  
TO BEGIN IMMEDIATELY AFTER SUBMISSION OF INDIVIDUAL  
TEXTS. HE COMMENTED THAT THIS DECISION HAD NOT PRO-  
DUCED AS MUCH OF A SPIRIT OF ACCOMMODATION AS USDEL  
HAD HOPED. NEVERTHELESS, HE ADDED, WE HAVE TO CON-  
SIDER THAT IT WAS PROBABLY TOO EARLY AFTER SUBMISSION  
OF TEXTS TO HAVE EXPECTED A MUCH MORE RAPID PROGRESS  
ON CONSOLIDATION.

4. USREP ADDED THAT IN FUTURE DRAFTING WE SHOULD TRY  
TO DESCRIBE MATTERS AS THEY REALLY ARE, NOTING FOR  
EXAMPLE THE LISTING AS FUNDAMENTAL PRINCIPLES TO GUIDE  
NEGOTIATIONS A LIST OF PROPOSITIONS THAT ARE SO HEAVILY  
BRACKETED IN THEIR REFLECTION OF DISAGREEMENTS. HE  
SAID SWEEPING PRINCIPLES ARE  
HEADY WINE AND SHOULD BE APPROACHED CAREFULLY. WHILE  
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PREPCOM IV HAD NOT PRODUCED AS MUCH AGREEMENT AS US  
HAD HOPED, HE SAID IN NEXT SESSION STATES SHOULD RE-  
SIST TEMPTATION TO PRESS THEIR OWN IDEAS WHICH LACKED  
GENERAL CONSENSUS AGREEMENT AND TO REALIZE THAT THESE  
DOCUMENTS DO NOT HAVE TO COVER EACH STATE'S OWN PAR-  
TICULAR VIEW ON THE VARIOUS COMPLEX ISSUES RELATING  
TO DISARMAMENT. IF THIS WERE POSSIBLE, HE SAID, IT  
SHOULD NOT BE DIFFICULT TO REACH COMPROMISE TEXT ON  
DECLARATION ON DISARMAMENT. HE SAID ALL SHOULD REA-  
LIZE THAT IF A PARTICULAR VIEW WAS NOT INCLUDED,  
AND SO LONG AS OPPOSITE VIEW NOT INCLUDED, IT DID  
NOT MEAN THAT A STATES VIEW WAS RULED INVALID BUT MERE-  
LY THAT THERE WAS AS YET NO GENERAL CONSENSUS ON IT.

5. RE PROGRAM OF ACTION, USREP SAID THIS TASK WAS  
MORE DIFFICULT PROBLEM. HE STATED: "THE FINAL  
DRAFTING OF A PROGRAM OF ACTION CANNOT TAKE PLACE  
UNTIL THE SPECIAL SESSION ITSELF WHEN WE HAVE RE-  
CEIVED THE VIEWS AND IDEAS OF GOVERNMENTS ON HOW TO  
GIVE A GREATER MOMENTUM TO THE DISARMAMENT EFFORT.  
THAT DOES NOT MEAN THAT WE CANNOT MAKE FURTHER  
PROGRESS ON THEPROGRAM OF ACTION AT THE FIFTH SESSION.  
I BELIEVE WE CAN. TO DO SO WILL REQUIRE AN AWARE-  
NESS THAT WE CANNOT IN THAT PREPCOM SESSION NEGO-  
TIATE DISARMAMENT AGREEMENTS. AS I NOTED AT THE  
BEGINNING OF THI SESSION, DETAILED DESCRIPTION OF

MEASURES TO BE ACHIEVED INVOLVES, OR, MORE ACCURATELY,  
REFLECTS A SIGNIFICANT PART OF THE NEGOTIATION ITSELF  
-- AND IN SOME CASES WE WILL HAVE TO GENERALIZE.  
WE HAVE BEFORE US A CLASSIC EXAMPLE OF THAT IN THE  
BRACKETED VERSION OF THE REFERENCE TO TWO NEGOTIATIONS,  
THE CTB AND THE SALT NEGOTIATIONS, THAT ARE EVEN NOW  
IN THEIR LATTER STAGES.  
"AND IF THE PROGRAM OF ACTION IS TO BE A REALISTIC  
OUTLINE OF HOW TO INITIATE A GREATER MOMENTUM TO  
THE DISARMAMENT EFFORT AND CHART THE FIRST PART OF  
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AN INTENSIFIED EFFORT IN THIS REGARD, WE WILL HAVE  
TO MAKE CHOICES, IF THE DOCUMENT IS TO HAVE ANY MEAN-  
ING. WE CANNOT DO EVERYTHING AT FIRST AT ONCE, AND  
WE WILL HAVE TO HAVE A CLEARER UNDERSTANDING OF THE  
FUNCTION OF THE PROGRAM OF ACTION AS COMPARED TO THE  
WORK THAT IS TO TAKE PLACE OVER A LONGER PERIOD OF  
TIME ON THE COMPREHENSIVE PROGRAM OF DISARMAMENT."  
USREP SAID IT WAS USEFUL TO SSOD PREPARATIONS TO HAVE  
RECEIVED VIEWS ON PROGRAM THAT HAD BEEN SUBMITTED,  
NOTING THAT WE SHOULD REFLECT ON THEM. HE COMMENTED  
THAT DRAFTING ON PROGRAM HAD BEEN ATTEMPTED BEFORE  
SERIOUS REVIEWS IN PREPARATION FOR SSOD HAD BEEN COM-  
PLETED, NOTING THAT IT WAS OF COURSE EASIER FOR SOME  
STATES TO PUT FORTH PROPOSAL NOW THAN FOR OTHERS,  
AND THIS WAS A REFLECTION OF THEIR DIFFERENT RESPONSI-  
BILITIES.

6. REGARDING MACHINERY, USREP INDICATED US WOULD STUDY  
WITH OPEN MIND PROPOSALS CAREFULLY, BUT HE AGAIN INDI-  
CATED THAT CHOICES WOULD HAVE TO BE MADE. HE NOTED  
PARTICULARLY THAT A PRIMARY INTEREST US WILL HAVE IN  
STUDYING THESE SUGGESTIONS WILL BE TO ASSURE THAT THE  
PROSPECTS OF EFFECTIVE DISARMAMENT EFFORTS ARE EN-  
HANCED AND PARTICULARLY THAT THE INTEGRITY OF THE  
EXISTING MACHINERY IS MAINTAINED AS A NEGOTIATING  
BODY.

7. US STATEMENT WAS FOLLOWED BY SRI LANKAN REP WHO  
REITERATED NON-ALIGNED VIEW THAT PROGRAM OF ACTION  
SHOULD BE SPECIFIC AND THAT, IF FINAL DOCUMENT CON-  
TAINS NO SPECIFIC GUIDELINES ("IS SO EMASCULATED")  
IN TERMS OF PARTICULAR MEASURES OR NEGOTIATIONS,  
THE SSOD WOULD, IN THEIR VIEW, HAVE ACHIEVED NOTHING,  
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AND CERTAINLY NOT WHAT HAD BEEN DESIRED BY THE

NON-ALIGNED GROUP WHICH HAD CALLED FOR IT IN THE FIRST PLACE. THEIR DESIRE, HE SAID, WAS FOR A CHANGE IN THE POLITICAL WILL OF THE MAJOR MILITARY POWERS TOWARD A REVERSAL IN THE DANGEROUS AND DESTABILIZING ARMS RACE WHICH COULD LEAD ALL NATIONS TO NUCLEAR HOLOCAUST.

8. INDIAN REP (JAIPAL) SOUGHT TO HIGHLIGHT DIFFERENCES IN FUNDAMENTAL VIEW OF INTERNATIONAL SECURITY BETWEEN SUPERPOWERS, ON ONE HAND, AND MAJORITY OF OTHER STATES ON THE OTHER. HE SAID NON-ALIGNED HAD STATED THEIR OWN PRIORITIES; HE NOW HOPED NUCLEAR WEAPON STATES AND PARTICULARLY THE SUPERPOWERS COULD WORK OUT ON THEIR OWN AGREED FORMULATIONS OF A PROGRAM OF ACTION. HE SAID AGREEMENTS ON SALT II AND A CTB WOULD NOT GO FAR ENOUGH. HE ARGUED THAT INTERNATIONAL SECURITY COULD NOT RATIONALLY BE BASED ON CONTINUING IRRATIONAL SYSTEM OF NUCLEAR DETERRENCE. ASSUMING, FOR SAKE OF ARGUMENT, STABILITY OF MUTUAL DETERRENCE, IF LEVEL OF DETERRENCE FORCES IN 1960 WAS ADEQUATE FOR DETERRENCE, HE ASKED, WHY HAVE LEVELS OF STRATEGIC ARMAMENTS INCREASED FURIOUSLY SINCE THEN? MOREOVER, WHY CANNOT THE SUPERPOWERS DE-ESCALATE THE ARMS RACE BACK TO 1960 LEVELS. THAT THIS HAS NOT BEEN POSSIBLE POINTS UP THE FLAW IN THE DETERRENCE ARGUMENTS OF THE SUPERPOWERS. THE FLAW IS THAT THE LEVELS OF STRATEGIC POWER ARE NOT, IN FACT, MEANT ONLY TO DETER, BUT HAVE EFFECT OF PROVIDING RATIONALIZATION FOR AND PROVOKING ARMS RACING TO EVER HIGHER LEVELS.

9. JAIPAL STATED THAT IF STRATEGIC LEVELS ARE MEANT TO DETER, AND ONLY DETER, THEN THERE SHOULD BE NO REASON WHY THE SUPERPOWERS CANNOT MAKE SOLEMN PLEDGES, WHICH COULD BE DONE UNILATERALLY IF NECESSARY AND NEED NOT NECESSARILY BE SAME FORMULATION, THAT LIMITED OFFICIAL USE  
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THEY WILL NOT USE NUCLEAR WEAPONS AGAINST OTHER STATES. THIS HAS NOT BEEN DONE. SUCH PLEDGES COULD BE ACCOMPANIED BY NON-USE OF FORCE GUARANTEES TO PROHIBIT CHANCES FOR ESCALATION TO NUCLEAR WEAPONS USE AND TO INSURE A GREATER SENSE OF SECURITY ON THE PART OF ALL STATES. SUCH SOLEMN GUARANTEES SHOULD THEN BE FOLLOWED BY REDUCTION OF LEVELS OF DETERRENT FORCES AS A FIRST STEP TO AVOID THE RESORT TO NUCLEAR WAR. FINALLY, HE SAID IF SSOD DOES NOT LEAD TO SUCH MEASURES, IT WILL BE A FAILURE. STATES INVOLVED MUST NOW MOVE FROM THE DRAFTING OF DOCUMENTS TO NEGOTIATION OF AGREEMENTS, AND SUPERPOWERS MUST TAKE THE LEAD IN THESE EFFORTS. HE CALLED FOR DIRECT TALKS BETWEEN THE US AND USSR TO THIS END, SO THAT THEY WOULD BE ABLE TO

PROVIDE OTHER STATES WITH APPROPRIATE ASSURANCES,  
TAKING THEIR VIEWS AND ASPIRATIONS INTO CONSIDERATION.

10. MEXICAN REP (GARCIA ROBLES) SAID HE WAS NOT DIS-COURAGED BY LACK OF GREATER PROGRESS AT PREPCOM. HE INDICATED THAT THERE WAS AGREEMENT ON NUMBER OF FUN-DAMENTAL POINTS INCLUDING THE NEED FOR HALTING THE ARMS RACE, ATTAINING PROGRESS IN INCREASING RELATION-SHIP BETWEEN DIXRMAMENT AND DEVELOPMENT, NEED FOR NEW DISARMAMENT STRATEGY, AND AN ENHANCED ROLE FOR US IN DISARMAMENT AFFAIRS. HE SAID HE STILL BELIEVED BEST PROSPECT FOR PROGRAM OF ACTION WOULD BE SHORT TERM PROGRAM OF IMMEDIATE MEASURES.

11. FOLLOWING REPORT BY RAPPORTEUR ON COMPOSITE TEXT, WHICH WAS HANDED OUT AS CONFERENCE ROOM PAPER 15 (3 COPIES BEING HAND-CARRIED TO WASHINGTON; 10 ADDITIONAL COPIES BEING POUCHED WHEN AVAILABLE NEXT WEEK). CHAIRMAN ANNOUNCED THAT LIMITED OFFICIAL USE  
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SSOD WOULD MEET FOR HALF DAY (MORNING) OF MAY 29, MEMORIAL DAY. HE ALSO OBTAINED PREPCOM AGREEMENT TO MEET ON APRIL 4 (RATHER THAN APRIL 10) TO BEGIN FIFTH SESSION, WIT- CONCLUDING DATE STILL APRIL 21. HE PROPOSED THAT SAME WORKING METHOD BE USED IN FIFTH AS IN FOURTH PREPCOM (I.E., LIMITED PLENARY MEETINGS, WORKING GROUP AND DRAFTING GROUPS MEETING MORE FRE-QUENTLY TO RATIONALIZE TEXTS OF DOCUMENTS). HE APPEALED PARTICULARLY THAT WORKING GROUPS SHOULD HAVE REPRE-SENTATIVES "AT NEGOTIATING LEVEL" TO FACILITATE COMPROMISE AND CONSENSUS. HE ALSO ENCOURAGED INFORMAL CONTACT GROUPS TO MEET IN MARCH. IN RESPONSE TO US VIEW THAT WORK ON PROGRAM OF ACTION AND MACHINERY SHOULD BE DONE IN SMALLER CONTACT GROUPS AT BEGINNING OF FIFTH PREPCOM (AS OPPOSED TO SENDING CURRENT HEAVILY BRACKETED TEXTS DIRECTLY BACK TO DRAFTING GROUP AS PRESENTLY CONSTITUTED), CHAIRMAN SAID THIS WAS NOT ONLY CONSISTENT WITH HIS VIEW BUT ALSO ENVISIONED BY HIM. IN PROPOSING SAME WORKING METHOD FOR FIFTH PREPCOM HE SIMPLY WANTED TO STRESS THAT TIME SHOULD NOT BE SPENT IN LENGTHY GENERAL DEBATE STATEMENTS.

12. REGARDING NGO PARTICIPATION, CHAIRMAN SAID DECISION SHOULD BE TAKEN ON THIS ISSUE AT FIFTH PREPCOM. HE SAID THAT FOR REASONS OF PRECEDENT IT WAS ENVISIONED THAT NGO'S WOULD PROBABLY BE INVITED TO ADDRESS COMMITTEE OF THE WHOLE RATHER THAN GA PLENARY, AND THAT TENTATIVE PLANS WERE BEING LAID TO SET ASIDE A DAY FOR THIS PURPOSE. SECRETARIAT WAS ALREADY WORKING ON ASSIGNING

NGO'S SPACES IN THE ASSEMBLY HALL.

13. REGARDING GENERAL COMMITTEE COMPOSITION, CHAIRMAN RECOMMENDED THAT STATES THINK OVER SIZE OF GENERAL COMMITTEE FOR SSOD, AND HE OFFERED TWO ALTERNATIVES: (1) ONE CHAIRMAN, THREE VICE CHAIRMEN, AND ONE RAPPORTEUR; AND (2) ONE CHAIRMAN, EIGHT VICE CHAIRMEN, AND ONE RAPPOREUR. BOTH ALTERNATIVES, HE SAID, WOULD ENSURE EQUITABLE REGIONAL DISTRIBUTION.

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13. PREPCOM IV WAS ADJOURNED 6:15 P.M. (WRAP-UP MESSAGE WILL BE SENT SEPTEL.) YOUNG UNQUOTE VANCE

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<< END OF DOCUMENT >>

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